

## Message Text

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TO USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 028008

EXDIS FOR THE US CSCE DELEGATION

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 1737 SENT SECSTATE 31 JAN 75

QUOTE S E C R E T BONN 01737

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, EC, US, GW, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: GERMAN VIEWS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE

1. AT JANUARY 30 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR, FOREIGN OFFICE  
POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL SAID HE HAD NOT INFORMED HIS  
EC COLLEAGUES, DURING DISCUSSION OF CSCE AT LAST WEEK'S  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN DUBLIN, OF SCENARIO WORKED  
OUT WITH WASHINGTON FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS  
ON PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION. HE TOLD THEM IN GENERAL  
TERMS THAT THE US WOULD "UNDERTAKE THE NECESSARY SOUND-  
INGS". HE INDICATED THAT THE FRG WAS PREPARED UNDER  
CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES TO ACCEPT CHANGES IN THE JULY 26  
FORMULATION, BUT PROVIDED NO FURTHER DETAILS. HE  
STRESSED TO THEM THAT IT WAS A "POSITIVE FORMULATION"  
AND THAT IT WAS NECESSARY THAT WHATEVER FORMULATION WAS

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ULTIMATELY AGREED UPON REMAIN POSITIVE.

2. IN THE MEANTIME, VAN WELL SAID, HE HAD RECEIVED A REPORT OF A JANUARY 20 CONVERSATION IN MOSCOW BETWEEN FRG AMBASSADOR SAHM AND SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ZEMSKOV IN WHICH THE LATTER HAD POUNCED ON THE PEACEFUL CHANGE ISSUE, CHARGING THE FRG WITH MOVING AWAY FROM AN AGREED FORMULATION AND INDICATING THAT THE USSR INTENDED TO RETURN TO THE FORMULATION OF APRIL 5, 1974. VAN WELL SAID HE HAD TOLD THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE THAT IF THE SOVIETS INSISTED ON THAT FORMULATION IT WOULD RAISE ONCE AGAIN THE WHOLE ISSUE OF PLACEMENT. THE FRG'S POSITION WILL THEN BE TO INSIST THAT IT BE PLACED IN THE PRINCIPLE ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. THE FRG BELIEVES THAT THE WORDING OF THE STATEMENT ABOUT PEACEFUL CHANGE SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE PRINCIPLE IN WHICH IT IS INCLUDED. THE FRG IS WILLING TO INCLUDE IT UNDER THE FIRST PRINCIPLE ON SOVEREIGNTY, BUT ONLY IF IT IS COUCHED IN TERMS THAT MAKE CLEAR THAT A PEACEFUL CHANGE OF BORDERS IS A POSITIVE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF A COUNTRY ACTING IN AGREEMENT WITH OTHERS AFFECTED BY THE CHANGE. VAN WELL SAID THE FRENCH REP AT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAD ASKED THAT THE FRG ALSO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING IT IN THE PRINCIPLE ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR THE ONE ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. VAN WELL SAID HE COULD OF COURSE NOT REFUSE TO EXAMINE THIS, BUT HE MADE QUITE CLEAR THAT THE FRG'S INCLINATION AT THE PRESENT TIME, IF THE SOVIETS INSIST ON RETURNING TO THE POSITION OF APRIL 5, IS TO GO ALL THE WAY BACK TO THE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED AT THAT TIME, WHICH WOULD MEAN PUTTING THE PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE INTO THE PRINCIPLE ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS.

3. VAN WELL MENTIONED THAT THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD AGREED THAT THE PLACEMENT OF THE PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE, SHOULD IT AGAIN BECOME AN ISSUE, WOULD HAVE TO BE DECIDED BEFORE THE END OF THE FIRST READING OF THE PRINCIPLES.  
HILLENBRAND UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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